

# ***An Idea Whose Time Has Gone? The Trials and Travails of Divine Healing in the “Salvation History” of the Aladura Movement in Nigeria (1918-1941)***

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# ***An Idea Whose Time Has Gone? The Trials and Travails of Divine Healing in the "Salvation History" of the Aladura Movement in Nigeria (1918-1941)***<sup>1</sup>

## **ABSTRACT**

The doctrine of Divine Healing has a long and chequered history right from the beginning of the Church. It was one of the main pillars in the spiritual worldview of most of the African prophetic movements which emerged in the continent beginning from the tail end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the second decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century whose ministries constitute the foundation and the bedrock of the modern Pentecostal movements. It was the main attraction which first drew many converts from the mission church to the defunct Faith Tabernacle the precursor of both Christ Apostolic Church and The Apostolic Church. It was also the main theme of the Great Revival of 1930 and the decisive shaping influence of the resulting Aladura Movement; and it would be the key factor in the separation of both the Christ Apostolic Church and The Apostolic Church.

This study examines the origin of this doctrine, its theological content and foundation, its peculiar status within Aladura historiography, its trials and travails among others.

## **Introduction**

Divine Healing is the act of God's grace, by the direct power of the Holy Spirit, by which the physical body is delivered from sickness and disease and restored to soundness and health. (Woodworth-Etter 1916:197) it is the application of divine power to procure healing and total recovery without any human assistance. This was the mode of healing known and practiced by the members of the original Precious Stone Society which metamorphosed in 1922 to the Faith Tabernacle, one of the three strands of the Aladura Movement in Western Nigeria.

The Aladura Movement, and the churches which resulted from it, has been the subject of much scholarly study, research and publications, ( e.g., Turner, 1967; Peel, 1968; Ayandele, 1970; Mitchel, 1970; Omoyajowo 1970, 1971,1982; Olayiwola, 1980; Oshun 1981,1988; Agbaje, 1985; Akinwumi, 1985, Ademowo, 2000; Fatokun, 2005) The Movement is a strand of African Prophetic Movements<sup>2</sup>, which first appeared on the religious landscape of Africa (specifically in Western Nigeria) around the second decade of the twentieth century, a movement which, with its vigorous prayer/ prophetic revivalism and healings, foreran and laid the foundation for the Pentecostal-evangelical movement of the present day in Nigeria.

The Aladura movement- or the Prayer/Healing movement, rather- emerged within the historical evolution of Nigeria around certain contexts- contexts which were so powerful and strong that they have impinged on the religious history of the movement. This occurs at a time of religious uncertainty, social upheaval and political trauma. These factors would constitute the three contexts which would shape and define its religious behavior and structurally mould its spiritual worldview.

First the Aladura emerged within a context of religious uncertainty occasioned by deep and serious shortcomings of the mission religious output. This tended to create "spiritual undernourishment among the native sheep who had looked up to the mission for help but who were being fed, for the most part on stuffs alien to their constitution,"<sup>3</sup> owing largely to the serious drawbacks of the mission's religious program.<sup>4</sup> There was thus a form of alienation which would lead to protest against some feature of mission Christianity of ministry<sup>5</sup> and this protest would lead to outright rebellion.<sup>6</sup>

The Aladura also emerged within the context of Western imperial colonization with its disabling and alienating environment, deprivations and inhibitions. The colonial situation with its litany of woes and collective denials provided a perfect setting for the breeding ground of prophetic movements, a necessary stage for the emergence of the religion of the oppressed. (Balandier, 1955; Lanterioni, 1963; Worseley, 1955)

The third context was however the most significant because it not only swept away the hope, religious beliefs and ritual of several years it also directly impinged on the religious life of the people by calling into question the reasonableness of some of their religious beliefs and even the powers of the traditional religious systems and forces to withstand it. This occurs "at a time of heavy religious change,( when) the Yoruba were inflicted with a series of natural disasters-influenza, plagues, famines and depression following the rapid growth of a monetary economy- these demanded a religious interpretation."<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately neither the mission church nor the traditional belief system had within its resources the wherewithal to confront these gargantuan evils and calamities or to provide a satisfactory explanation or interpretation to assuage the grief or heal the wound of a restless and desperate mass.

Close to 250,000<sup>8</sup> people died in 1918 in Southern Nigeria alone due to the world-wide influenza epidemic, most of which are Yorubas of Western Nigeria due to their proximity to the coast. The traditional religion with its world of fetishes, rituals, taboos and its concomitant rigidities had no answer to this. Equally, the mission churches-including the African churches which were led by Africans who had been brought up in European methods- with its alienating dogmas, sterile and prefabricated liturgy, were helpless through and through in the face of this monumental and soul- destroying monstrosity. The Aladura emerged during this turmoil. Here at last was a movement born in the midst of a definite spiritual crisis to solve a specific problem and fill a particular void in the life of society. This is the very reason, as we shall see in this paper, why Divine Healing was crucial and special- so special in fact that it almost amounted to a religion on its own- in the religious history of the Aladura Movement.

The Aladura Movement is not a specific African independent church but a set of churches of a common type but of differing origins which arose among the Yoruba in Western Nigeria, beginning in 1918.<sup>9</sup> There are three strands in the Aladura Movement of Western Nigeria:

- i) The Faith Tabernacle ( Originally named Precious Stone Society )
- ii) The Cherubim & Seraphim Society (C&S)
- iii) The Church of the Lord Aladura (COLA)

The C&S which began in 1925 in Lagos had its origins in the spiritual experience of Moses Orimolade Tunolase<sup>10</sup> who in 1916 left his hometown of Ikare to begin a nationwide itinerant prophetic revivalism and evangelism the first by any Nigerian in recorded history. (Omoyajowo, 1970, 1980; Peel, 1968; B. Idowu, 1970; M. Idowu, 2009)

The Church of the Lord Aladura (COLA) came not long after through the spiritual activities of Joseph Olunlowo Oshitelu a former member and catechist of Anglican Church and also Faith Tabernacle. He would found the church in his hometown at Ogere in 1930.<sup>11</sup> (Turner, 1970 2 vols.) The other strand of the Aladura Movement is the Celestial Church of Christ which came much later in 1947 and was far behind the first three listed above.

Although each of these groups had some form of programme<sup>12</sup> on Divine Healing none was as definitive and total as that of the Precious Stone Society which later became Nigeria Faith Tabernacle. It is for this reason that we shall concentrate in our study on the doctrine of Divine Healing as it obtained in the Nigerian Faith Tabernacle and within its distinct salvation experience.

### **The Origin of The Aladura Movement**

Although very little has been written about the world-wide influenza epidemic of 1918-19, close to 30million<sup>13</sup> people or more died as a result of the global outbreak of the disease, more than twice the number killed in military action in World War I, <sup>14</sup>making it the worst outbreak of infectious diseases in world history. It was particularly severe in Africa where about 1.35million<sup>15</sup> persons died as hundreds of thousands unknowingly infected their neighbours with the virus. About 100,000 died in Ghana<sup>16</sup> and at least close to 250,000 people died in Southern Nigeria<sup>17</sup> alone due to the epidemics based on

conservative estimates from Government Health records. A Nigerian newspaper captured the mood of the moment: *Lagos has passed through terrible times these last two or three weeks... it is like a veritable city of the dead.*<sup>18</sup>

It was a period of chaos and confusion. Adam Mohr in his study of the period in Ghana has noted:

*No institutionalized form of therapy could successfully combat the disease. Colonial physicians in Ghana did not know what caused the pandemic, how to arrest the virus's progress, or how to treat its victims. Biomedical practices... were not only unprepared to treat the infected but their facilities were already severely understaffed due to the need for physicians in Europe to treat soldiers injured during the First World War. (Mohr 2011:70)*

To a large extent this description also mirrored the tragic situation in Nigeria.

During this upheaval the government had to quarantine the population to contain the spread of the disease by shutting all public buildings including schools and churches, who had no answer to the epidemic anyway. It was during this period right at the centre of this disabling environment, chaos and social upheaval that the Aladura Movement was to find its calling, purpose and prophetic destiny.

Before this time a prayer band had been formed within the St. Saviour's Anglican Church, Italupe, Ijebu-Ode through a dream given to "Daddy" Alli the sexton of the church. He had dreamt that the church was divided into two but the smaller part, the praying people, were covered in a blaze of light while the larger part remained in darkness.<sup>19</sup> This group named the Precious Stone Society met regularly for prayers every Sunday after service on Monday evening due to member's requests. It was committed to prayers as the therapy for all ills and refused the use of medication for diseases. Led by J. B. Eshinshinade a synod's member and goldsmith of high reputation in the community,<sup>20</sup> this Society was already in place before the epidemic of 1918 struck and would be the precursor of the Faith Tabernacle in Nigeria. It also provides the first ever basis to the root and origin of Divine Healing in the Church in Nigeria as a distinct tenet of faith and rule of belief.

### **Sophie Odunlami: The Making of a Healing Prophetess<sup>21</sup>**

About 5km to Ijebu-Ode is Isonyin, a small town where an Anglican Church had already been established before 1918. One of the local leaders of this church who also doubled as the catechist was J. Odunlami, a native of the town and he worked under the leadership of Rev I.B. Ogunmefun who was in charge of the entire district. His eldest daughter named Sophie Odunlami, a 19-year old girl of sound education, rare beauty and feminine charm and a school teacher had been struck by the epidemic; and lay critically ill at home. After five days of suffering she had a supernatural encounter when a voice said to her: "I shall send peace to this house and to the whole world. The World War is ended..."<sup>22</sup> Another message directed her to tell people that they should believe God only who had power over the epidemic and that if they washed in a coming rainfall they would be healed. Sophie shared these messages with her father and even her local pastor the Rev. I.B. Ogunmefun.<sup>23</sup>

News of this incident spread round Ijebu area within a short while. She began to warn people to refrain from idolatry and charms and trust in God only. News of her exploits in Isonyin soon reached the prayer group in Ijebu-Ode and they sent for her where she addressed them one Sunday evening.<sup>24</sup> Here again she reiterated her message that a rain would soon fall and that it should be used with faith for healing. She was a powerful speaker and bold and the Ijebu- Ode group were impressed. Sure the rain came and all who used the rain water praised its effectiveness.<sup>25</sup>

By this time trouble had been raised against Sophie by her own father and forces from her hometown including the Anglican Church.<sup>26</sup> After repeated attempts on her life and unbearable suffering and persecution she decided to move to Ijebu-Ode. She was enthusiastically received and Eshinshinade offered her a place in her apartment. Meanwhile the church had been shut because of the epidemic and

the local pastor Rev. Gansallo had returned to his village in accordance with the government clampdown, a thing which the church members especially the praying group saw as desertion. With Sophie in their midst the group felt inspired. In contrast to the desertion of their pastor another minister Rev. S. A. Phillips an African and the headmaster of the school "led a procession of Church members about the town praying for deliverance from the epidemic."<sup>27</sup> The results of these healings ultimately convinced them that the promises of the Bible especially the New Testament had contemporary meaning<sup>28</sup> and they were ultimately reinforced in their convictions. This would be the origin of the preaching or practice of divine healing in Southern Nigeria on a major scale and predated/ antedated the coming of Faith Tabernacle Congregation of Philadelphia.<sup>29</sup>

This incident of desertion by an ordained minister of his own sheep in their hour of needs was one of the reasons why this group began to question the doctrine and practice of the Anglican Church. Two areas of disagreement between the group and the Church revolve around Divine Healing and infant baptism and it was over these that the group would ultimately separate from the church.

### **Precious Stone Society Becomes Faith Tabernacle**

The Precious Stone Society had now become formalized and they began their own meetings. Their first meeting was on July 5, 1920 at Ijebu-Ode.<sup>30</sup> They were nineteen<sup>31</sup> in all and they had set out on their own with their fate in their hands for the future of religious possibilities.

It was at this very time that somebody joined the group who would play the most decisive role in the history of the Faith Tabernacle in Nigeria and, much more, in the history of Divine Healing. A native of the town and a literate clerk/typist with the Police department, David Osmond Odubanjo had come in contact with a tract *Sword of the Spirit* printed by the Faith Tabernacle Congregation of Philadelphia, U.S. He was particularly impressed by the topic: "Seven Principles of Prevailing Prayers"<sup>32</sup> He decided to put the principles to test and he was astounded by the results. This would change his outlook about spiritual things and also launch him on the path of new beginning spiritually. He immediately got in touch with Pastor Ambrose Clark the presiding elder of the Congregation requesting for their literature thus beginning a solid relationship that would last almost 10 years. Soon Odubanjo would move to Lagos becoming the leader of the chapter there and the able correspondent for the whole movement.

A word about this Faith Tabernacle Congregation! The history of the doctrine of Divine Healing in the religious history of Nigeria will not be complete without a mention of the role played by the literature and mentoring of this fellowship. Though practice of divine healing in Nigeria did not originate from the church, unlike in Ghana, yet it is true and beyond doubt that the Scriptural foundations and the theological underpinnings which gave the doctrine its universal legitimation and distinctive colouration among the mass of believers were provided by this fellowship, especially its literature *Sword of the Spirit*, and letters.

We cannot talk of the origin of the Faith Tabernacle Congregation without a word about John Alexander Dowie<sup>33</sup> who has been called the father of Divine Healing in modern America. Born on May 25, 1847 of Scottish ancestry he would move with his family to Adelaide, Australia in 1860. Fourteen years later he became pastor of a Congregational Church where only two years after he had to bury 40 members of his congregation due to an epidemic. This crisis of faith occasioned by this disabling epidemic would lead him into the discovery of the doctrine of Divine Healing and would pastor the same church for years without burying a single person.

His immigration to the United States in 1888 would usher him to a new vista of opportunities especially with his doctrine of divine healing; and also crisis. After brief stay in San Francisco, Pennsylvania and Chicago he organized the Christian Catholic Church in 1896 with a charter membership of 500.<sup>34</sup> With success came persecution which included no less than 100 arrests in 1895 alone. Dowie's crowning effort came with the building of a great city where " the use of tobacco, liquor and other kindred vices would be perpetually barred."<sup>34</sup>

Dowie's greatest contribution however to faith was in the area of Divine Healing. He taught people not to even touch medicine but to rely solely on the atonement of Christ as sufficient for healing. It has been estimated that about 50,000 people were healed through his hands or prayers.<sup>35</sup> He has impacted the message and practice of Divine Healing more than any other person in the twentieth century. Most of the votaries of Divine Healing who spread the doctrine around the world in the twenty century came out of Dowie's Zion City<sup>36</sup> - John G. Lake, F.F Bosworth, Raymond. T. Richey and even Jacob Thomas Wilhide who founded the Faith Tabernacle Congregation in Philadelphia.

Faith Tabernacle Congregation was established in 1897 by Wilhide as a Divine Healing church in Philadelphia. The first Faith Tabernacle pastor of the church was John Wesley Ankins.<sup>37</sup> Both Ankins and Wilhide were discipled by Dowie and had learnt the principles of Divine Healing under him. It is not surprising therefore that the Faith Tabernacle was very strong on Divine Healing. Within a short while Faith Tabernacle chapters opened in different parts of Nigeria mainly through clerks and literate young men who had also read the literature of Faith Tabernacle and who promoted the activities of the fellowship in their areas. Notable chapters of the Faith Tabernacle were in Lagos, Ijebu-Ode, Ibadan, Ile-Ife, Ilesa, Oyo, Offa, Ilorin, Minna, Jos, Zaria, Kano, Kaduna, Calabar and Umuahia among others.<sup>38</sup> But Ghana was the most successful outreach of Faith Tabernacle in the entire West African sub region where there were 177 branches and an estimated membership of 4,425<sup>39</sup> compared to Nigeria where, in spite of a larger population, there were only 46 branches and an estimated membership of 920.<sup>40</sup>

That the Faith Tabernacle finally became prominent was due to the Healing Revival which occurred in July, 1930 under the auspices of the Tabernacle and which turned the fellowship into a mass-movement.<sup>41</sup> As a matter of fact there is empirical proof backed by records from several nations that the growth of Pentecostalism parallels that of Divine Healing. In the United States for example David Harrel has noted:

*the postwar healing revival dwarfed the successes of earlier charismatic revivalists; it had a dramatic impact on the image of American pentecostalism and set off a period of world-wide pentecostal growth. A generation grew up that would never forget the ecstatic years from 1947 to 1952, years filled with long nights of tense anticipation, a hypnotic yearning for the Holy Spirit, and stunning miracles for the believers performed by God's anointed evangelists. In the hallowed atmosphere under the big tents, it seemed most surely that all things were possible. (Harrell 1975:20)*

And the same parallel between the growth of Healing and Pentecostalism was also discernible in New Zealand as Knowles noted, "the initial factor in the post-war expansion of Pentecostalism in New Zealand and elsewhere was the renaissance of the healing movement." (Knowles 2003: 2) This was basically what happened in Nigeria with the Healing Revival from 1930 under the auspices of the Faith Tabernacle. We shall see how this came to be and the role of Divine Healing later in the narrative.

What was the factor in Faith Tabernacle religion which attracted young and literate Africans in Ghana and Nigeria to its fold? Most of the Faith Tabernacle members were originally from mission churches,<sup>42</sup> so we may take it for granted that they were already aware of the important Christian doctrines and rules of belief. But there was something else, something more, which the Faith Tabernacle offered to its adherents: the promise of answered prayer through the Name of Jesus, divine healing and health through the Finished Works of Christ and divine provisions for all needs. Of these three the promise of Divine Healing was particularly effective and captivating to young men in a day when medical facilities were inadequate and when the practice of medicine, even where it was available, was pedestrian and substandard.

Unlike the modern Pentecostals who affirm the doctrine of Divine Healing but still go to the doctors and take to drugs in time of sickness, the Faith Tabernacle's understanding of Divine Healing was very

definitive, radical, thorough and original. It goes back to the original conception of healing in the atonement as practiced in the Early Church and in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century when the doctrine was again rediscovered.<sup>43</sup> To them it amounted to a covenant with God. The Faith Tabernacle preached and practice divine healing trusting God alone for all health needs and abstaining from all other forms of healing, whether spiritual or biomedical.<sup>44</sup> It was healing based on the atonement of Christ and with no use of medicine whatsoever be it foreign or local.<sup>45</sup>

Members were encouraged to abide by this doctrinal requirement no matter what. Even their pregnant women must not go to hospitals but use their Faith Home where prayers only and the scriptures were employed. For instance during the influenza epidemic earlier referred to only the Faith Tabernacle Congregation ministered to the victims using prayer alone. In Ghana for instance many people were brought from the hospitals to the Faith Tabernacle healing homes with miraculous results. Many testified to their miraculous recoveries without the use of medicine.<sup>46</sup> The *Sword of the Spirit* the official magazine of the movement contains several testimonies of recoveries from the epidemic by members from West Africa.<sup>47</sup> Thus the doctrine of Divine Healing was particularly important to them because, especially for the Africans, it represents a significant milestone in their "salvation history."<sup>48</sup>

### **An Idea That Refused to Die: Origin of Divine Healing**

Although Alexander Dowie is often credited with the doctrine and practice of Divine Healing in the twentieth century, the doctrine did not actually begin with Dowie, even if it is true that he gave it the universal popularity. The emphasis on Divine Healing has a longer history than even speaking in tongues which has become the single most important characteristic of the Pentecostals. Edward Irving (1792-1834) was the first person to propagate the idea of healing as connected with the atonement of Christ.<sup>49</sup> Other teachers mostly in Europe who first gave emphasis to the doctrine were Lutheran Johann Christoph Blumhardt in Germany (1843), Dorothea Trudel in Switzerland (1851) and Otto Stockmayer in Switzerland (1867). These teachers developed not only the idea of the "healing home" (a hospital-like retreat where prayer was administered instead of medicines) and a theology of healing which was to affect many in America and lead to the doctrine of divine healing as in the atonement.<sup>50</sup>

But towards the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the centre of gravity in the advocacy of Divine Healing has shifted to America. Historian Paul Chappell noted "that the faith healing movement was stronger in America during the 1890's than at any previous point."<sup>51</sup> This was due to the work of the Faith-Cure Movement<sup>52</sup> which had been active since the middle of the century and led by such men as Adoniram J. Gordon, Charles Cullis, A.B. Simpson, Carrie Judd Montgomery and Alexander Dowie. These were the fathers of the Faith-Cure Movement whose teachings and books<sup>53</sup> brought Divine Healing beyond the level of anecdotal testimonies into the arena of popular theological discourse and debate;<sup>54</sup> and thus laid the foundation of the doctrine for the Faith Movement and the modern Pentecostal movement. These men would influence such dynamic votaries of healing like E.W. Kenyon, John G. Lake, F. F. Bosworth and Raymond T. Richey, Charles Parham, William J. Seymour among many others, who would lay the foundation of the Faith Movement and the modern Pentecostal Movement. These men would in turn influence the leaders of the modern Faith Movement and the Healing revival such as Oral Roberts, Kenneth Hagin, Gordon Lindsay, Jack Coe, A.A. Allen etc.

In 1906 John G. Lake and his partner Tom Hezmellachwentas missionaries to South Africa<sup>55</sup> to propagate the gospel of Christ with emphasis on divine healing as practiced and taught by the apostles.<sup>56</sup> Lake's 5-year stay in South Africa was memorable and impactful leading to the founding of more than hundreds of churches on the principle of divine healing. The several miracles of healings which occurred under his meetings were sometimes unbelievable and border on the mysterious.<sup>57</sup>

But the real impetus to healing in America was the Healing Revival of 1947-58 which first began with the ministry of William Branham and Oral Roberts and where the Voice of Healing Organisation,<sup>58</sup> the association of all healing evangelists in America, was very prominent.

However, a point must be made that the teaching and practice of Divine Healing was much more definitive, total, developed and deeper in the vision and understanding of the founding fathers of the Faith-Cure Movement like A.B. Simpson, A.J. Gordon and A. Dowie and their immediate successors like Lake, Seymour etc than what later obtains with the leaders of the Healing Revival like Roberts, Khulmann, Hagin etc. With the old school in the Faith-Cure Movement the atonement and the Finished Works of Christ were sufficient for healing and cures without any use of medicine whatsoever; on the other hand the leaders of the modern Pentecostal Movement saw nothing wrong with the use of doctors and drugs or even the mixing of medicine and prayer (as in Oral Roberts' City of Faith.<sup>59</sup>)

This compromise form of the original doctrine of Divine Healing in which drugs and doctors are supplemented with prayers seems to mostly define the present situation in most gospel churches, the spiritual heirs of the pioneers of the doctrine; and marks the real trial of the original doctrine.

So far we have seen the origin of healing both in general and in the Faith Tabernacle Congregation. However, and as it would be seen in this narrative, the doctrine of Divine Healing in Nigeria did not originate from either Europe or America but from indigenous and religious forces although the teachings and publications in those places greatly amplified the Nigerian understanding of the doctrine in a very remarkable way. We shall now see how divine healing came to be so entrenched in the spiritual world view of the Nigerian Faith Tabernacle and how a church of about 920 members became a mass-movement that would in turn give birth to both The Apostolic Church and Christ Apostolic Church

#### **Apostle of Divine Healing: The Call of Joseph Ayo Babalola<sup>60</sup>**

If there is anyone in Nigeria who deserves the title of apostle of healing it was Babalola. He gave practical demonstration to what the Faith Tabernacle has known and taught to people concerning divine healing. He took the doctrine of divine healing from the precinct and narrow confines of local denominational teaching or practice into the mainstream of popular reckoning and national attention. He did for the Faith Tabernacle in Nigeria what Dowie did for the Faith-Cure Movement in America.

Born of Anglican parentage and of Yoruba ancestry he was a roller driver with the Public Works Department of the colonial service. He was on this job while working on Akure- Ilesa road when on 9<sup>th</sup> October 1928 he heard a voice directing him to quit the job.

*At about 12 noon I heard a voice, a mighty voice whose sound was like that of 10, 000 thunders and calling my name saying, 'Joseph! Joseph!! Joseph!!!leave this work you are doing, if you don't leave this work this year, this year, I mean this very year you shall be cut off from the land of the living.' This happened three times consecutively but I did not bother I was only concerned with getting the roller to function.<sup>61</sup>*

He eventually resigned his job. He was instructed to fast and on the seventh day of the fast as he slept he had a visitation where he believed he was commissioned by the Lord with the ministry of divine healing for all people. He was given a bottle of water in the vision as a symbol to cure all ills and diseases. It was made clear to him that the Lord does not want His people to use medicine both good and bad be it orthodox or unorthodox but to rely and trust His atonement on the Cross. The Lord also reminded the young apostle to warn the people not to be like Saul who obeyed the Lord deceitfully concerning Amalek by destroying the vile and the refuse and sparing the good and the precious for himself. Believers were to renounce all medicines be it good or bad, whether orthodox or unorthodox, foreign or local. This commission to heal is the origin of the Doctrine of Divine healing in Babalola's ministry and the resulting Christ Apostolic Church. This is why Babalola has been called the apostle of divine healing and why this doctrine has been so crucial and decisive in the religious and "salvation history" of the Apostolic Communion in general and, until lately, CAC in particular.



It is significant to note that Babalola came to the understanding of the doctrine of divine healing by a revelation of God and not through foreign mediation or by American gospel literature like Odubanjo, Shadare and other leaders of the Faith Tabernacle. He was not taught the doctrine by anyone but by sheer revelation. C. R. Myers, an early missionary and an eyewitness of this early events was right on target when he said about Babalola:

*It is remarkable to see that God revealed to this man the ministry of healing without ever having heard of it from anyone before. In fact if he had been taught anything no doubt he had been taught that God has given us the doctors and medicines. We should note how true to God's Word are his revelations along this line.*<sup>62</sup>

Babalola began to carry out his ministry of healing in his native town of Odo-Owa and the surrounding villages with remarkable results.<sup>63</sup> Various testimonies<sup>64</sup> began to attend his work at this time praying only on water and encouraging the people to desist from charms, medicine and idols. Hear him:

*In all the towns where I was sent the Voice would teach me to tell the people to desist from the use of herbs and all native medicines but to trust in the Lord for their healing and the Voice would instruct me to tell the sick to go home because the Lord has healed him/her; and after one or two days the sick person would return to tell me that he has recovered.*<sup>65</sup>

### **The Great Revival of 1930**<sup>66</sup>

The Faith Tabernacle had, by 1928, entered into another crisis and was seeking for another sponsorship elsewhere. Ambrose Clark who had disciplined most of the Nigerian members had been accused of adultery and had been dismissed from the International Headquarter forcing him to start his own church, the First Century Church. But the Nigerian chapters refused to follow him in this venture.

Meanwhile news of Babalola's exploits on Divine Healing got to the Faith Tabernacle in Lagos and he was invited to address them on the subject and his ministry. He spoke continuously for 6 hours and held the audience spellbound. The Faith Tabernacle was convinced that a messenger of Divine Healing has finally been raised among them. They were now convinced more than ever of the genuineness of the message of Divine Healing. A subsequent meeting at Ilesa by the delegates in July 1930 led to the great revival.

The high water mark of Aladura Apostolic Christianity in the early days was the great revival of 1930, the definitive beginning of modern apostolic Pentecostalism in Nigeria. The real trigger which sparked the revival of 1930 however was the resuscitation of a 10-year old boy named John Obi Ogundipe who had died a day before his corpse was brought to Oke-Ooye to Babalola who had begun to gain reputation as a healing prophet residing at Oke-Ooye. Seven herbalists had been called when he died to try to resuscitate him to no avail.<sup>67</sup> Babalola prayed on this corpse and poured water from his handbell on the boy and called his name. Obi then came to life, a thing that shocked many eyewitnesses who saw it. People erupted into spontaneous singing:<sup>68</sup>

*Omi lofi se' wosan (2x  
Oku ale anad'alaye  
Omi lofi se wosan*

He uses water to heal (2x)  
The corpse of yesternight he's made alive  
He uses water to heal

Seventy years later in 2000A.D Obi Oguno would recount the account of his resuscitation from death in a Church service at his 80<sup>th</sup> birthday anniversary which was recorded on tape, a copy of which is in the possession of the author. This man would later die in 2002 at the age of 82.

This news travelled far and wide and before the week was over crowds began to troop to Ilesha to meet the prophet. This was the beginning of what has been called the Great Oke-Ooye Revival- the origin of both the Christ Apostolic Church and The Apostolic Church in Nigeria. This was also the beginning and origin of modern Pentecostalism in Nigeria as many people received the baptism of the Holy Spirit with the usual evidence of speaking in tongues for the very first time. Some received the gift of prophecy and a call to ministry. In the course of this research I've met a number of old pastors<sup>69</sup> who traced their Pentecostal experience to Oke-Ooye and to the Great Revival.

There were healings and deliverances of the scale that would shock. Diseases and afflictions of long time were cured during the revival sessions which were held both morning and evening. Some of these were detailed in the newspapers. Virtually all the newspapers featured stories on the revival showing that at a point it became a national event. There were confessions too by witches of the terrible things they'd done. Some of them repented thereafter and were delivered. Others died.

The Colonial reports in the archive from 1930 to 1945 featured this revival; and have something to say about Joseph Babalola, the instrument of the revival. As a proof that the revival attained national prominence and Joseph Babalola, a national fame, the Acting Governor of Nigeria, George Hemmant Esq. C.M.G., made mention of his work in his address to the Legislative Council in 1930:

*During October, the Aladura (a prophet from Ilesha) came to Efon in the Ekiti Division where he was believed to have raised people from the dead and cured many of blindness and lameness. He appears to be a religious revivalist who preaches the advent and has done nothing so far to disturb the people of the countryside. Joseph Babalola (an ex-PWD steam roller driver) a faith healer announced his arrival at Ife in July since when he has visited Ilesha, Awe (near Oyo) and Oshogbo. He is reputed to effect wonderful cures and the people, especially women have flocked to him. He accepts no money and appears perfectly sincere in his intentions...*<sup>70</sup>

Also *The Daily Times* the most prestigious paper of the period in its August 26<sup>th</sup> 1930 edition noted on this revival with a sensational caption, *A Messiah in Ilesha*:

*A 'Prophet is said to have put up appearance at Ilesha, whose power of healing by prayer has been testified' by many who have been healed.. Two well-known figures at Ibadan who have nearly lost their sights have completely recovered, pilgrims mostly consisting of lames, blinds, deaf, and other kinds of invalids are crossing to Ilesha every day by motors (sic) to receive this wonderful healing.*<sup>71</sup>

This testimonial by the head of government himself and the most prestigious newspaper of the era are proofs of the importance of the revival in the collective memory of those who witnessed it.

It is relevant to this study to point out that this revival was a healing revival. Although there were other deliverables promoted for the participants at the revival that of healing from diverse ailments through water prayed over by Babalola took centre stage. The tone of divine healing was very strong, loud and clear at the revival. Very many of the eyewitnesses confirmed this. A correspondent of *The Nigerian Spectator* for example, based in Ede filed this report which was published in its edition of 23<sup>rd</sup> August captioned "Wonderful Miracles":

*Wonderful miracles have been performed at Ilesa since 11<sup>th</sup> of July 1930 by a young man by name Joseph Babalola, a native of Ilofa, Ekiti district. When I heard of him I went there on the 10th of August with some others who needed blessing as well as myself with my Lorry O,S, 60.*

*When we got there we found about 4000 people standing for blessing with their bottles filled up with water. We have only to complain of our trouble into the water in the bottle, my own cases were cough and cold, in my children and myself. On the second day we were cured. I went there again on 12\8\1930 with members of my family who have been suffering from various kinds of sicknesses, they were all cured. Even two blind men arrived with my Lorry yesterday and their sights were restored. ...The blind see, deaf hear, lame man walking. I must not forget to state again that Mr. Joseph Babalola did not take one fraction of a penny, from anybody who have (sic) already been cured. He explained how he was called by God. I therefore advise anybody to go there with faith. It is not a rumour or dream but real fact.<sup>72</sup>*

Other newspapers featured stories of healing during the revival.<sup>73</sup> Several eyewitnesses consisting of both indigenes and foreigners like<sup>74</sup> Lawrence Omole, S.A. Omojuwa, David Babajide, H. Dallimore, S.A. Adegboyega, J.A. Medaiyese, among others, all concurred that the revival was a vindication of the doctrine of divine healing held by the Faith Tabernacle.

This revival soon spread to different parts of Nigeria and within 3 months four centres had emerged in Ilesa, Efon-Alaaye, Ibadan and Ikare respectively. The Ibadan centre was launched by Daniel Orekoya<sup>75</sup> who was an assistant to Babalola at Oke-Ooye, Ilesa where it first started. Orekoya too turned out to be a messenger of divine healing and several healings were credited to his ministrations. The bilingual newspaper *AKEDE EKO* of October 25, 1930<sup>76</sup> listed some of the healings which were recorded based on voluntary confessions of the victims themselves: 7 persons were cured of lameness, 2 of deafness, 3 of epilepsy, 21 of blindness, 19 of Gonorrhoea; among other cures. This revival would result in the birth of the Christ Apostolic Church, Olugbode the original missionary headquarters of CAC today.

The Great Revival of 1930 was the peak or zenith of glory of the doctrine of Divine Healing in Nigeria- a peak that has never again been reached since that day till now in spite of the duplicity of religious concerns under nebulous Pentecostal-evangelical labels. Hundreds of people threw away their charms, medicine and other occultic libber and monograph to get the sanctified water prayed over by the prophet. We have a record of the doctor at the Wesley hospital in Ilesa reporting Babalola to the Owa of Ijesa- Oba Aromolaran, because most of his patients have all deserted the hospital to go and receive the healing water of the prophet. There were 400 patients receiving attention before the revival but only 4 were left.<sup>77</sup> It was divine healing's day of glory.

Everyone agreed that the practice of divine healing was the success factor which caused many Muslims, heathens and even adherents of the mission churches to move over to join the Faith Tabernacle. The Anglican Church was particularly hit in this demographic transition. Of the 1200 memberships in Ilesa only 600 remained, of the 400 Methodist memberships only 100 remained.<sup>78</sup> Dallimore blamed these reverses on the promise of Divine Healing by the Aladura: *"...The converts...were attracted by the claim of miraculous healings without resort to medicine. Led by a strong personality, hundreds of Christians left the traditional churches in the area and joined the Apostolic Church (Faith Tabernacle)"*<sup>79</sup>

### **The Trial Over Divine Healing**

This revival also led to the rise of a major persecution against the fold of the Aladura. Initially there was a trans-denominational cooperation. The revival fostered a spirit of unity and ecumenical cooperation. At the beginning both Anglicans and Baptist were involved. Dallimore even appealed to the principal of St. Andrew College, Oyo to send pupil teachers for the catechization of the converts while the Baptist mission also sent relief workers from its seminary at Ogbomosho to assist the organizers of the revival. But as the revival progressed and as secondary prophets arose who spoke against the mission churches this unity was endangered leading to rise of persecution against the movement and its organizers.

This policy of intolerance would lead to the closure of Aladura chapels and culminate in the arrest and imprisonment of Babalola in April 1932 after the Lenten season. All the colonial officials were directed to clamp down on the Aladura because they are *religio illicita*.<sup>80</sup> This persecution against the Revival Movement was also partly due to divine healing as "thousands of people who became members of the church during the revival refused to use medicine for healing and deliverance from any kind of ailment. They were therefore unduly molested, persecuted and victimized beyond measure."<sup>81</sup> It was this very reason which prompted the invitation of the British Apostolic Church in 1931.

Odubanjo had written to the organization when he read their tract. What appealed to him was the baptism of the Holy Spirit and the Gifts of the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in tongues. The Faith Tabernacle had not taught these experiences for believers. In his enthusiasm he had written inviting the leaders of the Apostolic Church for a visit to witness the revival and promising to turn or affiliate all their several chapters with their denomination. He had even included the photograph of Babalola with this letter, all these without so much involving or informing other members. Thus when the leaders congregated at Ijebu-Ode they first decried Odubanjo's unilateral dealings with the Apostolic Church. It was here the leaders upon proper examination of the doctrines of the Apostolic Church saw that Divine Healing was not clearly stated and thus quickly cabled: 'Don't come for you don't believe in divine healing.' But having purchased tickets for boarding it was irreversible and the British missionaries cabled back: 'We are coming, divine healing a thing most surely believed according to St. Luke's Gospel Chapter 1 verse 1.'<sup>82</sup>

The arrival of the missionaries in September of 1931 and subsequent discussions with the leaders of the Faith Tabernacle led to the pact on cooperation of the two churches leading to the founding of The Apostolic Church in Nigeria. Few months' later two missionaries, Idris Vaughan and George Perfect, arrived to begin work with the church.

The cooperation or partnership with the Apostolic Church would mark a new era, the beginning of a paradigm shift to the original doctrine of Divine Healing in its definitive conception as practiced and believed at the beginning. Although the Apostolic Church believes in Divine Healing their belief is not as dogmatic as the Faith Tabernacle and does not see any wrong in the use of medicine by orthodox practitioners. To them there is a difference between good and bad medicine. This distinction was what would cause problems later both in Nigeria and Ghana.

### **The Row Over Divine Healing (1938-41)**

One of the major doctrinal controversies which would afflict the Apostolic Church was the interpretation of scriptures on divine healing. The row generated over the doctrine between the new elements of the Apostolic Church and the old vanguards of the Faith Tabernacle and the subsequent crisis resulted in the split of the original Apostolic Church in Nigeria into Christ Apostolic Church and The Apostolic Church. This was the very beginning of the trial and travail of divine healing- in its original pristine form- a trial that has now totally submerged the doctrine and consigned it to the ashes of history both in the Apostolic Church and Christ Apostolic Church.

In view of the importance of this we need to look at it critically to see what actually happened. Shortly after the two missionaries arrived they took two leaders of the Faith Tabernacle into confidence by telling them that they would not use medicine why they were with them but they should allow them the use of quinine not as medicine but as a prophylactic as a result of living in an environment over which they were not physically constituted.<sup>83</sup> They had to protect their bodies as a result of change of climate and they reminded their hosts that they too would need to wear special materials if they visited European countries. Both Odubanjo and Adegboyega were privy to this understanding and consented without letting other leaders of the church to know about it, keeping it as a confidential matter.

But along the line there was a personality clash between Odubanjo and Perfect leading to deep misgivings between the two men. To make matters worse George Perfect began a series of teachings

which, in the opinion of the members, were capable of making them lose their faith in Divine Healing as a doctrine of the church.<sup>84</sup> When confronted with this by the church leaders Perfect affirmed the same teachings and his statements and argument "were so logical, scientific, philosophical and controversial that he was asked to go and reproduce them in writing for us to study, and then to meet afterwards for further debate."<sup>85</sup>

It was here that Perfect bungled his chances and the stake of his mission. He put his argument in writing the summary of which was that medicine and doctors are not evil and that "we have no Scriptural grounds for teaching that it is wrong to use such good things as God has given us for the protection of our bodies from becoming sick."<sup>86</sup> In essence that it was not wrong to use medicine.

This drew a lot of flank from the presbytery of the church who were vehemently against Perfect's preaching of doubt on the doctrine that had been with them since 1918 and which God had vindicated with a Great Revival, the very reason why Perfect was a resident missionary.

In their response to Perfect's argument against Divine Healing they drew his attention to the source and origin of medicine which is heathenish; and also called his attention to "the instability, inconsistency and changeableness of medical science as sure indications that it is not from God."<sup>87</sup>

Accordingly the African partners drafted a letter to the Missionary Committee of the church in Bradford to know whether Perfect's opinion on Divine Healing represents the official church position and to warn of the dire consequences of using drugs in a culture where there are both good and bad medicine:<sup>88</sup>

1. *That the use of medicine, drugs, quinine or other human remedy, either for protection or healing of the body in this country will only lead our people back to idolatry and will absolutely remove their confidence and trust in Christ as Saviour and Healer.*
2. *That if medicines, drugs, quinine or other human remedy are used either by European or African leader, the teaching of absolutely trusting in the atoning Blood of Our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ will be weakened...*
4. *That if Faith is once assassinated by bad example of the leaders, it is impossible, humanly speaking, to resuscitate it*

This was backed by two resolutions signed by the African leaders and their position received prophetic validation from Isaiah Sakpo.

#### **The Response from Bradford and the Split**

The protest letter had been dated 30<sup>th</sup> September 1938 but the response from Bradford would not come until June, 1939 almost 1 year after and long after Perfect the "culprit" had returned home safely. This did not go down well with the African pastors. Also the letter did not rebuke Perfect for his stand on Divine Healing. The letter itself did not support the doctrine of healing as originally taught by the Faith Tabernacle but instead canvassed for an understanding for "those who are not able to rise to the highest course" and that the "taking of medicine is purely a personal matter and every individual must have the prerogative to use his own discretion."<sup>89</sup> By this ruling and ecclesiastical decision the Church government took the doctrine of Divine Healing from the domain of the church to the realm of personal consideration and individual judgment.

It should not be difficult to see that a doctrine left to such individual consideration would soon die through neglect and lack of corporate patronage and fertilizing.

It must be stated that the response of the Africans to the official letter from Bradford led to the split of the original Apostolic Church into Christ Apostolic Church and The Apostolic Church. And the cause of the split, if the truth were to be told, is the row over Divine Healing. Soon the generality of church members heard about the secret use of quinine by the European missionaries and they demanded for the expulsion of all of them. Thus the anti-European and pro-Divine Healing elements led by Odubanjo-

Akinyele-Babalola triumvirate became the Christ Apostolic Church while the pro-European elements led by the duo of Babatope and Adegboyega became The Apostolic Church.<sup>90</sup>

Originally both churches still profess faith in Divine Healing as at the beginning but as events unfolded things changed first in the Apostolic Church then, years later, in the Christ Apostolic Church.

### **Divine Healing in Contemporary Aladura Theology**

What is the state of Divine Healing today in the theology of the Aladura Movement? Where is the doctrine of Divine Healing in the contemporary theology of both the Apostolic Church and Christ Apostolic Church, the two heirs of the original Faith Tabernacle, today?

We begin with The Apostolic Church.

There are 11 tenets in the doctrinal belief of the church worldwide. However the Apostolic Church (Nigeria) has asterisked the tenet 6 which is on nine gifts of the Holy Spirit with a further note at the bottom to show "that the gift of healing included in this tenet establishes our belief in the Doctrine of divine healing."<sup>91</sup>

But how can belief in the gifts of the Holy Spirit be the same as doctrine of Divine Healing? It is most likely that the church has only attempted a leeway so as not to offend anyone but to pacify different interests. It is said that when the founding figures wanted to inscribe an extra tenet on Divine Healing the Igbo Field of the church vehemently objected leading to the adoption of this middle course which in reality does not really help the cause of the doctrine. Thus the situation in the Apostolic Church today is that the individual is allowed to use his prerogative- either to go to hospitals or to seek God in prayers. Both are allowed and permitted. Some areas even have well-managed and standard medical facilities with registered doctors and nurses and drugs are prescribed for healing just like in other medical centres outside. Bye to the doctrine of Divine Healing.

In the Christ Apostolic Church it is even worse, because the doctrine is clearly stated in the 13 tenets of the church but this does not stop members and even pastors from seeking and using orthodox medicine, without any repercussions or official reprimand. Thus we have a case of orthodoxy in creed but heterodoxy in practice. This is similarly the position of most of the Pentecostal churches today who say they believe in Divine Healing but go to hospitals and take drugs. However in the case of CAC they still have the Maternity homes where in some cases members give birth to their babies. These are run on prayer without drugs or medicine. There is a rethinking of some ancient practices in CAC and, unfortunately, the doctrine of Divine Healing, is one of these. Thus the subsisting practice today about healing is not as dogmatic as what the founding fathers left.

### **Conclusion**

In this paper we have tried to look at the history of a doctrine or tenet of faith within the Aladura Communion. Although the Aladura Movement has several strands we have tried to limit our search to only one of this strand: Faith Tabernacle which was the predecessor of both Christ Apostolic Church and The Apostolic Church.

It is clear that Nigerians on their own discovered the doctrine of divine healing without any foreign mediation. Both the prophetic figures- Sophie Odunlami (later Ajayi), Babalola, Omotunde and even Orekoya- came to the knowledge of divine healing by divine revelation rather by personal instruction or teaching or through Faith Tabernacle literature. However it is clear that the doctrine receive a boost through the affiliation with the Faith Tabernacle Congregation of Philadelphia.

Divine Healing was also cardinal to the apostolic calling of Babalola and it was the main deliverable after salvation offered to the people. The Great Revival which drew more than 2 million people from far and near was the monument to faith in God and the vindication of the doctrine of divine healing. This was the greatest victory to divine healing and many people for once saw the need to renounce their idols, charms and evil medicine to embrace the gospel of divine healing.

The coming of missionaries however represents the beginning of real trial to the doctrine of healing as originally conceived. What exists today is a form of compromise, an amorphous arrangement where everyone can go at his or her own pace. In retrospect the doctrine of divine healing in the Apostolic Church of Britain is not as dogmatic and definitive as that of the Nigeria Faith Tabernacle. Although the leaders of the Apostolic Church claimed in their telegram that "divine healing is a thing most surely believed" there was obviously a misunderstanding of terms.

In one of the most interesting coincidences and accidents of history the Ghanaians were going through similar controversy and struggles with the Apostolic Church over the doctrine of divine healing at the same time that Nigerians were locked on the same issue which would also split the church in Ghana just as it did in Nigeria.<sup>92</sup> It is certain however that the founding fathers stayed with their covenant with God over divine healing by living both in spirit of the original testament of the doctrine as revealed in those heady days of influenza epidemic of 1918. S.G. Adegboyega spoke the mind of his colleagues in 1978, seventy years after the event:

*It is abundantly clear ... that Divine Healing had fundamentally been the bedrock and main spring of our faith and vision as a spiritual church in Nigeria on which the church has been built right from her inception. Divine Healing therefore is a doctrine which we must live for, die for, pray for and strive harder for until the Second Advent of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Healer of His Redeemed people through His Blood. (Adegboyega 1978:26,27)*

And they actually did. Babalola buried two of his children without seeking medical aids. Medaiyese suffered from a sore for years without using medicine. Even Anim when he fell in his bathtub at the age of 80 still refused to seek medical aids preferring to die instead. Indeed they were faithful to the covenant of Divine Healing as was revealed to them in 1918.

But with their children and latter-day successors in modern Pentecostal movement it is a different story. Even with the churches left behind the doctrine has been amended in the light of modern realities. Thus for, most of the modern Pentecostals, the natural heirs of the Aladura Movement, Divine Healing is an idea whose time has gone. But has it?

## NOTES

1. This paper is one of many publications based on my research on the Aladura Movement which began effectively in 1997 and has continued till 2010.
2. Such as Harrist Movement, the Kimbanguist Movement, Garrick Braide Movement etc.
3. Bolaji Idowu, *Towards An Indigenous Church*, London: Oxford University Press, 1970
4. Various scholars have drawn attention to this in their works e.g., Turner, 1970; Kalu, 1983; Oshun, 1980; Idowu, 2007
5. C.O. Oshun, *Apostle Babalola's Challenge to Aladura Churches*, An Inaugural Lecture of Lagos State University, 2000.
6. The Aladura strand of Christianity represents a protest against the European form of Christianity as represented by the mission churches.
7. J.D.Y. Peel, *ALADURA: A Religious Movement Among the Yoruba*, London: Oxford University Press, 1968, p.292.
8. According to Government Health records.
9. R.C. Mitchel, "Religious Protest and Social Change: The Origin of Aladura Movement in Western Nigeria" in R.I. Rotberg, A. Mazrui (eds) *Protest and Power in Black Africa* ( N.Y : OUP) p.461.
10. For the story of Moses Orimolade see Moses Oludele Idowu, *More Than a Prophet: The Adventures of Moses Orimolade Tunolase*, Lagos: Artillery Publications, 2009.

11. Oshitelu was with the Faith Tabernacle initially before he was forced by disagreement to start his own church. See Harold Turner, *The History of an African Independent Church*, 1970. 2 vols.
12. In the C&S for instance, the Constitution registered by Moses Orimolade in February 1930 “abhors the use of charms or fetish, witchcraft or sorcery of any kind and all heathenish sacrifices and practices” but it is not “averse to the judicious use of native herbs, the engagement of qualified medical practitioners or doctors or the use of patent medicines or other drugs.” This is the position of other sections till today. (See the original Articles of Association of Eternal Sacred Order of Cherubim and Seraphim)
13. There is no consensus among scholars as to the actual figure of mortality due to that pandemic. Different estimates have been generated by different scholars:  
 Jordan, 1927: 21.6m; Burnet, 1977: 50-100m; Beveridge, 1978: 15-25m; Webster and Laver, 1980: 20-50m; Schild, 1977: 15-50m; Patterson& Pyle, 1991:30m; Barry,2004: 100m. (Note: m stands for million persons)  
 Patterson & Pyle noted that highest death rate are generally from Africa and Asia and sub-Saharan Africa suffered severely” from this pandemic (“The Geography and Mortality of the 1918 Influenza Pandemic” in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* p.13)
14. See Patterson& Pyle *op.cit.*, p.14
15. Ibid
16. Patterson *op.cit.*, p.14
17. This figure is for Southern Nigeria alone. The total for Nigeria is estimated at 500,000 by Adam Mohr. But this is very unlikely because the mortality for the South is bound to be higher than the North due to the proximity to the coast.
18. See *Lagos Standard*, 9,23 October, 1918 cited in Peel *op.cit.*,p.60
19. J.A Ademakinwa, *Iwe Itan Ijo Aposteliti Kristi*, Lagos: CAC Publicity,1971
20. He was a well-known person and elite in Ijebu-Ode and the Grammar School in the town began in his house.
21. Most of the information contained here are from my field work in Isonyin concerning the woman.
22. R.C. Mitchel, *op.cit.*,p.462
23. Ibid
24. Ibid
25. Ibid
26. Interview with Madam Okanlawon at Isonyin Novemeber, 2012. This woman is a nephew of prophetess Sophie Ajayi.
27. R.C. Mitchel *op.cit.*,p.463
28. Ibid
29. This contrasts sharply with the Ghanaian situation where the Faith Tabernacle was already in place before the epidemic.
30. *The Diamond Society Minute Book*, No.1 July 5, 1920- May 1921( Shadare Papers, Ijebu-Ode) cited in Mitchel p.464
31. Ibid
32. J.A. Ademakinwa *op.cit*
33. For more of Alexander Dowie see Gordon Lindsay, *The Life of Alexander Dowie*, Dallas: Christ for the Nations, 1975
34. Gordon Lindsay, *Alexander Dowie Sermons*, Dallas: Christ for the Nations
35. According to John G. Lake who was an elder in Zion City.
36. G. Lindsay *op.cit*
37. Adam Mohr, “Out of Zion Into Philadelphia and West Africa: Faith Tabernacle Congregation, 1897-1925” *Pneuma* 32(2010)56-79
38. J.A. Ademakinwa *op.cit*
39. Adam Mohr *op.cit*
40. Ibid
41. R.C . Mitchel *op.cit*



42. Odubanjo, Eshinsinade, Babatope, Akinyele were Anglicans. Adegboyega and Ademakinwa were Methodists.
43. Through the work of Edward Irving and the Irvingites.
44. Adam Mohr *op.cit.*,p.67
45. Idris Vaughan, *The Origin of Apostolic Church Pentecostalism in Nigeria*, Britain: Ipswich Book Company, 1991.
46. Adam Mohr *op.cit*
47. Cited by Adam Mohr in *op.cit*
48. Salvation history is used here in a limited context.
49. See Arnold Dallimore, *The Life of Edward Irving : The Forerunner of the Charismatic Movement*, PA: Banner of Truth Trust, 1983
50. Vinson Synan., "A Healer in the House? A Historical Perspective On Healing in the Pentecostal/ Charismatic Tradition" source: [www.hopefaithprayer.com](http://www.hopefaithprayer.com)
51. Paul Chappell., *The Healing Movements in America* quoted by Synan *op.cit*
52. This movement is distinct from Faith Movement of recent time.
53. Examples are : A. J. Gordon. *Ministry of Healing*  
                   A.B. Simpson. *The Gospel of Healing*  
                   \_\_\_\_\_ *The Lord for the Body*  
                   \_\_\_\_\_ *The Fourfold Gospel*
54. V. Synan., *A Healer in the House...*
55. See Gordon Lindsay., *John G. Lake: Apostle to South Africa*, Dallas: Christ for the Nations, 1975
56. Ibid
57. He gave his own personal account in *The Adventures in God*, which is now available on the net.
58. One of the best accounts of the revival is by David Edwin Harrell, Jnr., *All Things are Possible: The Healing and Charismatic Revivals in Modern America* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1975)
59. See his accounts
60. For more on Joseph Ayo Babalola see:  
                   Moses Oludele Idowu., *Joseph Ayo Babalola: The Mantle of an Apostle*, Lagos: Artillery Publications  
                   \_\_\_\_\_. *The Great Revival of 1930*, Lagos: Artillery Publications  
                   \_\_\_\_\_. *The Foundation of an Apostle*, Lagos: Artillery Publications
61. J. A. Medaiyese., *Itan Igbedide Joseph Ayo Babalola Fun Ise Ihinrere* (The Emergence of Joseph Babalola for Gospel Work) Okene, 1965.
62. C.R. Myers in *African Gospel Messenger* of 1930.
63. See M.O. Idowu, *Babalola: Collected Works*, Lagos: Artillery Publications, 2009
64. Ibid
65. Ibid
66. See M.O. Idowu. *The Great Revival of 1930: The Origin of Modern Pentecostalism in Nigeria*.
67. Information from the son Niran Ogundipe.
68. M.O. Idowu. *Great Revival of 1930...*
69. E.g., pastor Adedeji, pastor Olowolagba, pastor Omojuwa, pastor Babade.
70. See *Akede Eko*
71. See *Nigerian Daily Times* of August 26<sup>th</sup> 1930.
72. "Wonderful Miracles" in *Nigerian Spectator* of 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1930.
73. *West African Nationhood, Akede Eko, Spectator etc.*
74. See Lawrence Omole, *My Life and Times*  
                   S.A. Adegboyega, *A Short History of Apostolic Church*  
                   J.A. Medaiyese, *op.cit*  
                   D. O. Babajide. *Iwe Itan Orekoya and Babalola*  
                   S. A. Omojuwa : Interview with the author in CAC Oke- Alafia, Akure, 1997

75. For more on Orekoya see Moses Oludele Idowu. *Daniel Orekoya: Born to Die, Bound to Reign: The Untold Story of the Prophet of Oke-Bola*, Lagos: Artillery Publications, 2010.
76. Akede Eko
77. M.O. Idowu. *Great Revival...*
78. Bishop's report cited in *West African Equatorial African Church Magazine*, August, 1931.
79. H. Dallimore, "The Aladura Movement in Ekiti" *WEACM* September, 1931
80. See Resident Ross of Oyo to A.D.O, Ilesha and D.O Ife, 30 March 1931 and 14<sup>th</sup> August 1931 (Oyo Prov. 662) National Archive, Ibadan.
81. S.A. Adegboyega., *A Short History of the Apostolic Church*, Ibadan: Rostprint, 1978, p.33
82. Ibid p.44
83. Ibid
84. Ibid
85. Ibid p.96
86. Ibid p.99
87. Ibid p.109
88. Ibid
89. Ibid
90. See Moses O. Idowu. *Acts of Power: The Spread of Great Revival and the Birth of Apostolic Christianity in Nigeria*, Lagos: Artillery Publications, 2011
91. See *The Apostolic Church Hymn Book*
92. Peter Anim, *The History of How the Full Gospel Came to be Founded in Ghana*,

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